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ALL OF THE FIVE FICTITIOUS ITALIAN EDITIONS OF WRITINGS OF MACHIAVELLI AND THREE OF THOSE OF PIETRO ARETINO PRINTED BY JOHN WOLFE OF LONDON (1584-1589). II.

Recapitulation and Completion of the Arguments.

In the first part of this paper which appeared in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXII (1907), pp. 2-6,* the *Historie* and the *Asino d' Oro* of Machiavelli (1587 and 1588) and the *Quattro Comedie* and the *Terza, et Ultima Parte de Ragionamenti* of Pietro Aretino (1588 and 1589) were assigned to John Wolfe on the strength of documentary evidence from the contemporary Stationers' Registers. The *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* and the *Arte della Guerra* of Machiavelli (1584 and 1587), all with the device of a flourishing palm-tree with serpents and toads about the root and the motto: *Il vostro malignare non gioua nulla*, were attributed to him, apart from other typographical reasons, on account of his appearing as the possessor of this device in 1593, six years before Adam Islip used it, to which may now be added that this palm-tree is found three more times in books printed by Wolfe in 1592 and 1593, and as early as 1594 in one printed by Islip,¹ and that according to documentary evi-

* The following corrections should be made in this part. First: The figures in the Roman numerals, p. 3, A 5 and B 1-3, should all be of the same size. Second: In the title read 1589 for 1588; p. 3, B 2, *Carte viii* + 288 for Pp. xvi + 292; p. 5, col. 2, l. 5, *si parla* for *riparla* and *ibid.*, l. 14, the for The. Third: Supply *Carte 0* + 115 at the close of A 5, an apostrophe B 1 after *e* in *el*, dividing lines after A 1, xxviiij *di*, A 2 *Prencipe*, *chiauelli* and *nella*, A 3 *uelli*, A 4 *ammendate*, A 5 *seguente*, B 1 *Ficata* and *Si* and B 3 *cosa*, and hyphens after A 3 *appres*, B 1 *diui* and *Si* and B 2 *conosci*.

¹ Wolfe used the device of the palm-tree, which so excellently fits the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* of Machiavelli that it must have been specially designed for them, quite appropriately in two controversial books by Gabriell Harvey, viz., *Four Letters and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused*, etc.,

dence the latter bought his type and printing implements from the former and therefore obtained the device in question in a perfectly legal way.² The First and Second Part of the *Ragionamenti* of Pietro Aretino with appendix (1584) finally were ascribed to John Wolfe because of their complete agreement in type, initial letters and ornaments with other books printed by him. But as this evidence, however strong it may be, does not seem quite equal to that of the preceding cases, it is a matter of satisfaction that the other two editions of the *Ragionamenti I & II*, mentioned there as well as a fourth of the same year

1592, and *Pierces Supererogation or a new prayse of the Old Asse. A Preparatiue to certaine larger Discourses, intituled Nashes S. Fame*, 1593. In the latter the title-page with the device occurs twice, once at the beginning and then again on the eleventh leaf. In Ames-Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1181, only the first ten leaves are mentioned and recorded as a book by itself. Islip first used it in William Clerke, *Triall of Bastardie*, 1594, and often afterwards without special reference to the contents of the books.

² The documentary statement is found with Arber, *Transcript*, III, 700, saying that 'Adam Islip bought his printing house Letter [type] and Implements of John wolfe and succeeded him, being an ancient Ereccion' and is taken by Arber himself (v, 204) as meaning that 'He succeeded J. Wolfe, this year,' i. e., the year of his death, 1601, 'as a Master Printer and in his Printing House.' This interpretation can only be correct as far as the succession as a Master Printer is concerned, for the transfer of the device of the palm-tree in 1594 is not the only evidence that the purchase of type and implements must have occurred much earlier. In the first place, Wolfe's widow did not dispose of her husband's belongings, but continued his business. She did not only give the old apprentices a chance to serve out their time (l. c., II, 728, 730 and 734) but she also engaged a new one in the person of John Adams, a son of Frauncis Adams, a devoted friend of her husband, who had died about the same time (l. c., II, 253), and made two extensive transfers of books—none of our Italian prints among them however,—to her former apprentice, John Pindley, as late as 1612 (l. c., III, 483 and 487). In the second place, Islip did not wait to start in business till 1601, but established himself in 1594 when he engaged his first apprentice, to whom he added another at the beginning of 1596 (l. c., II, 192 and 208). There is even a record of a license granted to him Sept. 16, 1591,

which I have found since I have been in Berlin, have all turned out to be reprints of Wolfe's.⁸ The Prefaces by Barbagrìgia and his Heir are, therefore, original with our edition and John Wolfe's case receives additional strength both from the similarity with which the fictions of Barbagrìgia and Antoniello degli Antonielli are carried out, and from the fact that the edition of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, which Barbagrìgia promises to issue at some future date, was actually planned by John Wolfe in 1587, not to speak of the other works of Pietro Aretino promised by Barbagrìgia and mostly either printed or intended to be printed by John Wolfe. Indeed, in the Preface to the *Ragionamenti* III of 1589 the veil is so far lifted that we learn that only a few copies of Parts I and II of 1584 may still be had. After John Wolfe's title to all of the eight editions has thus been still more firmly established, we are now ready to turn to his life and the

but this was not given unconditionally, and at all events there is no evidence of his having actually printed anything in his own name before 1594. In the third place, there is direct documentary evidence to the effect that in 1595 William Moorin[g] and Adam Islip, partners, succeeded John Wolfe in trade and place (*l. c.*, III, 702), and we find this not only confirmed by the fact that Wolfe changed his place of business from Paul's Chain, where it is found from 1592-1594 (*l. c.*, v, 166, 170 and 174), to Pope's Head Alley, Lombard street, where it is from 1596 on (*l. c.*, v, 182, etc.), no place being recorded for 1595, but also by Wolfe's sharing his license for Books II, III, IV and V of *Amadis de Gaule* with Adam Islip and William Morynge, Oct. 16, 1594 (*l. c.*, II, 662, together with II, 607 and III, 483), which is at the same time the only occurrence of the name of Moring in all the licenses, so that his partnership with Islip cannot have lasted long. Other books licensed to Wolfe but printed by Islip about the same time are: Antonio de Guevara, *The Mount of Calvarie*, licensed to the former in 1593 (*l. c.*, II, 638) and printed by the latter with the device of the palm-tree (I) in 1595; and likewise probably Huarte: *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of men's wits*, etc., licensed to Wolfe in 1590 (*l. c.*, II, 557) and printed by Islip in 1594, to which we shall have occasion to return below. At all events, there are plenty of indications that the transfer of the device of the palm-tree from Wolfe to Islip was perfectly legal and the possibility of Islip's having used it in connection with the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* in 1584 is excluded by the fact that he did not finish his apprenticeship till June of the following year (*l. c.*, II, 694).

⁸I reserve the detailed proof of the priority of Wolfe's edition which I had intended to insert here for some other occasion, and will simply say that Wolfe's edition repeat-

prominent part he played in the stormy period through which the English book trade passed in the eighties of the sixteenth century, a matter which is of so much general interest that it seems desirable to go a little more into detail than the question in hand in itself demands. My account is based on the documents and records published in Arber's *Transcript*, to which all references in the text are made and on the following two *Rappresentazioni* to which my attention was courteously called by Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum who saw a notice of one of them in a recent catalogue of Jacques Rosenthal of Munich. *Historia et | Vita di Santo | Bernardino.* | Woodcut representing the Ascension of the Saint | Dddd. At the close: *In Fiorenza, Ad istanzia di Giouanni | Vuolfio Inglese*, 1576. 2 leaves. 4°.

La Historia e Oratione di Santo | Stefano Protomartire. | *Quale fu eletto Diacono dalli Apostoli, e come | fu lapidato da Giudei.* | *Nuouamente Ristampata.* | Woodcut representing the Saint in a landscape. | Hhhh. At the close: *In Fiorenza, Ad istanzia di Giouanni | Vuolfio Inglese*, 1576. 2 leaves. 4°.

Since in later years John Wolfe so often puts the name of an Italian city on books printed by him in London, it may be added that the genuine Italian origin of these two leaflets is placed beyond doubt both by their close resemblance to some of the many other *Rappresentazioni* printed at Flor-

edly agrees with the edition of the First Part of the *Ragionamenti* which bears the false date of Paris, and the print of the Third Day of the First Part entitled *Opera noua del diuino & vnico signor Pietro Aretino: laqual scuopre le astutie: scelerita, frode, tradimenti . . . che viano le Cortigiane*, etc., etc., purporting to have appeared in Naples, 1534, where one or more of the other three editions differ. As the *Ragionamenti* I and II, in spite of the avowed moral purposes of the author, are utterly repulsive by their obscenity, it is more complimentary to Wolfe's not over-scrupulous business instincts than to the taste of the reading public that not only his edition but also three or even four reprints of it should have found a market, for it is not impossible that the only edition of 1584 mentioned by Carlo Bertani, *Pietro Aretino e le Sue Opere*, p. 362f., is different from the other four, because it alone adds the Dialogue between Ginevra and Rosana. The *Ragionamenti* III of 1589, on the other hand, are absolutely unobjectionable, and also the *Comedie* are staunchly defended by Bertani, *l. c.*, 377, whose appreciation of Pietro Aretino for the rest may be gauged by the fact that he inscribes his study to his wife.

ence at that time and by the fact that his name is found here alongside of that of an Italian city which in the other cases of course never occurs.

John Wolfe's Life and His Part in the Troubles of the Stationers' Company.

John Wolfe served his apprenticeship under John Day, one of the most influential and prosperous London printers and stationers of the first part of Queen Elizabeth's reign and a personal favorite of Lord Leicester from 1562-1572 (I, 172). At the close of it he failed however to obtain his admission as a freeman to the Stationers' Company, and had to be satisfied with the freedom of the Fishmongers who do not seem to have objected to his 'many loose pointes of behaviour' as strongly as the Stationers. Probably soon afterward he went abroad, 'gadding from countrey to countrey,' as the Queen's Printer Christopher Barker disparagingly calls it (II, 780), but as a matter of fact laying the foundations for his future success in life and his publication of Italian books in England. Not only this but also his surname Machivill, which then was almost synonymous with Italian in an odious sense, tend to indicate that his stay in Italy was a prolonged one, and perhaps it is not amiss to suppose that he was connected for a while with the famous printing establishment of the Giunti, who sometimes employed foreigners. At least he adopted their device of the heraldic lilies for his own and the Dddd and Hhhh on the titles of his *Rappresentazioni* find a parallel in the Iiii on the title of a *Scelta di Laudi Spirituali* printed 'Nella Stamperia de' Giunti' in 1578.

In or before 1579, the year of his first license, he was back in England where it was then almost an impossibility for a man without means or patronage to make a living in the printers' and stationers' trade. Whole classes of the most profitable lawful and serious books had by royal patents, often injudiciously granted, come into the hands of a few; efforts were making to subject the production of light literature, hitherto free to all, with the exception of books printed in a foreign language, to a more rigorous supervision (II, 752), and in addition to this the number of printers exceeded in the opinion of some by more

than twice the actual demand.⁴ Wolfe, however, then already past thirty, was determined not to go to the wall and decided to make a place for himself in the profession by force or favor, right or wrong. He began with an attempt to become one of the privileged few, but when the patent for which he had applied was refused because it 'was thought vnreasonable by some serving her Maiestie' (I, 144), he resolutely joined the most desperate among the discontented who had organized or just were organizing for the wholesale production and dispersion of the most popular school books owned by the patentees (II, 19). Rising to the leadership of these men by his superior energy and perhaps also by his 'Macheuillian deuices, and conceit of forreine wit,' with which Christopher Barker credits him on May 14, 1582, i. e., over a year before he printed his first edition of Machiavelli, he made such an onslaught upon the existing order of things in the Stationers' Company that not only the patentees lost their profits and were disobeyed by their journeymen and apprentices, which latter even 'married wiues and for a time did what they list' (II, 782), but that a revolutionary spirit began to pervade the populace of the city.

'WOLFE and his confederats,' a Supplication to the Privy Council, probably dated March, 1583, says (II, 781 f.), 'affirmed openly in ye Stationers hall, yat it was lawfull for all men to print all lawfull bookes what commandement soeuer her Maiestie gaue to ye contrary.' 'WOLFE being admonished, yat he being but one so meane a man should not presume to contrarie her Highnesse gouernmente: "'Tush," said he, "'LUTHER was but one man, and reformed all ye world for religion, and I am that one man, yat must and will reforme the gouernement in this trade," meaning printing and booke-selling.' 'WOLFE and his confederats made collections of money of diuers her maiesties poore subiects, perswading them to ouerthrow all

⁴ In Dec., 1582, Christopher Barker reports: 'There are 22 printing howses in London where 8 or 10 at the most would suffice for all England, yea and Scotland too (I, 172). In May of the next year there were 23 printiers with 53 presses (I, 248). At that time 'John Wolf hath iii presses, and ii more since found in a secret Vau[1]t' i. e., as many as the Queen's Printer and more than anybody else.

priiuledges, and being demanded why he did so, answered his purse was not able to maintaine so great a Cause as yat he had in hand.' 'WOLFE and his confederats incensed ye meaner sort of people throughout the City as they went, yat it became a common talke in Alehouses, tauernes and such like places, whereupon insued dangerous and vndutifull speaches of her Maiesties most gracious gouernment.'

In vain Christopher Barker had furnished him with work at his own loss and offered him 'for quietness sake' even more than reasonable furtherance in his plans, for during their very negotiations 'although WOLFE denied to haue any more of Barkars Copies in Printing his seruants were in work of ye same, as within '4' houres after was manifest' (II, 780). Thrown into prison he continued to foment trouble by means of those who came to see him, and even to the efforts of the special Commission appointed by the Queen to restore peace and order he and his associates for a good while turned a deaf ear until, not long after another search and extensive confiscations made at his house (I, 499), he suddenly 'acknowledged his error' (II, 784) and withdrew from the contest—being admitted a freeman to the Company, July 1, 1583 (II, 688)—not so much induced, it seems, by the concessions which under the pressure of the situation and the government, the patentees were about to make to all of the poorer members in common,⁵ as by a prospect of special personal advantages at which he had been aiming from the first and which he was probably keen enough to see might escape him if he persisted longer in his rebellious attitude. In the autumn of the following year in fact, he and his fellow-agitator, Frauncis Adams, were given a share in the valuable patent of John Day, deceased, and his son Richard.

Now we do not only find both him and Adams entering a complaint to the Queen against those who were unlawfully exploiting their new patent and serving them as they themselves had served others (II, 790 ff.), but after the passage of the new Star Chamber Decree for orders in printing

of June 23, 1586 (II, 807 ff.), which, partly by its fairness and partly by its severity, put a stop to almost all disorders, he sought and obtained the appointment as a Beadle of the Company.

In the discharge of the duties of this office he 'ryd to Croydon for a warraunt of Roger Warde,' one of his most daring former colleagues in surreptitious printing (I, 527), and proved a relentless executor of one of the most draconic paragraphs of the Decree just mentioned against Robert Waldegraue. 'You know that Walde-graues printing presse and Letters were taken away: his presse being timber / was sawen and hewed in pieces / the yron work was battered and made vnseruiceable / his Letters melted / with cases and other tooles defaced (by John Woolfe / alias Machiuiill (!) / Beadle of the Stationers / and most-tormenting executioner of Walde-graues goods), etc.'⁶ In 1591 Wolfe had his salary as a beadle almost doubled from £6 to £10 = \$300 to \$500, according to the present value of money⁷; in 1593 he succeeded Hugh Singleton as a Printer to the City of London,⁸ and in 1598 finally, three years before his death, he was 'admitted into the Liuerie' of his Company (II, 872).

As a publisher he certainly played 'the Bees part,' as Gabriell Harvey puts it in the letter mentioned in note 8, for during the six years from 1588–1593 from 25 per cent. to 33 per cent. of all books and pamphlets licensed to London pub-

⁶Martin Marprelate, *The Epistle* [September–November, 1588] in Arber, *The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works*, No. 11, p. 22. Sad to say, John Penry, who was credited with a main share in the writings appearing under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate, fared no better at the hands of the Anglican bishops than Giordano Bruno, of whom we have to speak later, did in Rome and was hanged in 1593 (*ibid.*, p. vii ff.).

⁷Ames-Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1170.

⁸The year when Wolfe became Printer to the City is given as 1594 I, xliii, as 1593 v, lx and as 1595 v, 181. The true date of his appointment is some time between April 17, 1593, the date of an 'Order to the Lord Mayor, etc., of London, for the avoidance [*expulsion*] of beggars, etc.', printed by or for Hugh Singleton (v, 171) and Sept. 16 of the same year, the date of a letter by Gabriell Harvey 'To my louing friend, John Wolfe, Printer to the Cittie.' According to Arber (v, 173), the title of this letter was: 'A new letter with notable contents. With a Sonnet.' The copy which I used in the British Museum lacked the title-page.

⁵January 8, 1584, the leading patentees relinquished their exclusive rights to a great number of books (II, 786 ff.).

lishers belong to him. Although, probably owing to his duties as a printer to the city, his share does not reach this figure again afterwards, we may surmise that his death during the first months of 1601, probably before he had reached 55 years of age, was in no small measure due to the indefatigable zeal and energy he had displayed in all his doings. The last three books entered to him are : *Disce Mori. Learne to Dye* (Aug. 21, 1600), *The Sanctuary of A troubled soule* (Nov. 13, 1600), and *Godly meditations vpon the most holie Sacrament of the Lordes supper, &c.* (Jan. 13, 1600). His widow did not depend for her support upon others, but continued his business⁹ and thereby proved herself a worthy partner of his.

The Italian Books published by John Wolfe.

The Italian books, to which on account of their bearing upon the subject in hand some volumes of Latin poetry composed by Italians will here be added, form the most curious part of Wolfe's many-sided printing and publishing activity. For together with the works of Giordano Bruno, printed in London in 1584 and 1585, as is generally believed by Thomas Vautrollier, and the later books of Petruccio Ubaldino, printed all or all but the last by Richard Field,¹⁰ a contemporary and fellow townsman of William Shakespeare, from 1592 to 1599, they are, as far as I am aware, the only books in the Italian language published in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was quite an Italian scholar herself, and for a long time afterwards.

Wolfe's first Italian book is at the same time the first book which was licensed to him as a pub-

lisher and a printer (Jan. 17, 1581)—that of 1579 had been licensed to him as a publisher only on condition that it be printed by John Charlwood (II, 353)—and the first genuine Italian book ever printed in London, because the story of *Arnalt and Lucenda*¹¹ which had appeared there six years before had been a school book and accompanied by a collateral English translation. Its title is : *La | Vita di | Carlo Magno | Imperadore, | Scritta in Lingua Italiana da Petruccio | Ubaldino Cittadin | Fiorentino. | Flower-de-luce, apparently taken from Giunti*¹² and hereafter Wolfe's most frequent device here with '*Ubique florescit.*' | *Londra, | Appresso Giouanni Wolfio Inghilese, | 1581. | The Florentine author bids the English to whom the book is dedicated rejoice because 'l'opere Italiane non men si possono stampar felicemente in Londra, che le si stampino altroue (essendo questa la prima) per studio, & diligenza di Giouanni Wolfio suo cittadino; per la commodità del quale altre opere potrete hauer nella medesima lingua di giorno in giorno, se la stima che farete di questa sarà tale, quale si deue aspettar da huomini desiderosi di lunga, & honorata fama, come io ho sempre stimato, che siate voi fra tutti gli altri delle piu lodate nationi de i Christiani.'* John Wolfe, therefore, is introduced by a competent judge as a competent printer of Italian books and prepared to meet any further demands that may arise in that line, and it would be interesting to know whether the '*altre opere*' refer to other prospective literary efforts by Petruccio Ubaldino himself, or to the works of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino, which were the next Italian books of John Wolfe's to appear.

The following list includes only those Italian books, together with a few Latin books written by Italians, which were actually printed by John Wolfe, while one which just may have been

⁹ For particulars, see note 2. She did not get any new licenses in her own name, however.

¹⁰ Richard Field succeeded Vautrollier by either marrying his daughter (Ames-Herbert, l. c., 1065 and 1252, and Arber, v, lxiii) or his widow (Arber III, 702). His claim to Ubaldino's *Parte Prima delle breui Dimostrat.*, etc., 1592, rests on the license he obtained for it, Dec. 6, 1591. I am aware of the fact that the British Museum Catalogue suggests that some of the following books may be printed away from London in Antwerp?, Venice? and Oxford?, but a close typographical comparison shows that all were products of the same press, doubts being admissible only regarding the last, the second edition of the *Vita di Carlo Magno*. The absence of licenses is accounted for by Ubaldino's connection with the Court during the last years of his life.

¹¹ The Pretie | and Wittie Historie of | Arnalt and Lucenda : | With certen Rules and | Dialogues set forth for | the learner of th' Ita- | lian tong : | And dedicated vnto the Wor- | shipfull, Sir Hierom Bowes | Knight. | By Claudius Hollyband Schole- | master, teaching in Paules | Churcheyarde by the | Signe of the | Lucrece. | Dum spiro, spero. | Imprinted at London | by Thomas Purfoote. | 1575.

¹² Compare e. g., Giunti's Second Edition of the Decamerone, 1582, colophon, and my remarks above.

printed by him and others for which licenses are recorded in the Stationers' Registers, but which in reality were either not printed in Italian, or neither in Italian nor by him, or not at all will be given later. The title of *c* is quoted from the *Early English Printed Books in the University Library of Cambridge*, Vol. I, 401, and that of No. 10, which does not properly belong to the Italian books, from Ames-Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1175. The remainder are taken from the works themselves, but so that those given in full before are here only repeated in an abbreviated form. Where a license is recorded its date is given in parentheses.

A. Licensed :

1. *Petruccio Ubaldino, Vita di Carlo Magno*, flower-de-luce, etc., Londra, G. W., 1581. 4°. (Jan. 17, 1581.)

B. Not licensed :

2. *Machiavelli, Discorsi*, palm-tree, Palermo, Jan. 28, 1584. 8°.
3. *Machiavelli, Principe*, palm-tree, Palermo, Jan. 28, 1584. 8°.
4. *Pietro Aretino, Ragionamenti I & II with Commento di Ser Agresto*, etc., no device, s. l., 1584. 8°. (Preface from Bengodi, Oct. 21, 1584.)
- a. *Torquati Tassi | Solymeidos, | Liber Primus Latini- | nis numeris ex- | pressus. A Scipio Gentili. | Flower-de-luce | Londini. | Excudebat Johannes Wolfius | 1584. 4°.*
- b. *Scipii Gentilis | Solymeidos | Libri duo priores | de | Torquati Tassi | Italicis expressi : | Flower-de-luce | Londini. | Apud Johannem Wolfium. | 1584. 4°.*
- c. *Torquato Tasso. Plutonis Concilium. Ex initio quartus libri Solymeidos. Londini. Apud Johannem Wolfium. 1584. 4°.*
- d. *Scipii Gentilis | in xxv. | Davidis Psalmos | Epicae | Paraphrases. | Flower-de-luce. | Londini | Apud Johannem Wolfium. | 1584. 4°.*
4. *La Vita di Giulio | Agricola scritta since- | risimamente | da | Cornelio Tacito suo Genero. | Et Messa in volgare da Giovan. Maria Manelli. | Arms of the Lord Robert Sidney to whom the book is dedicated. | Londra | Nella Stamperia di Giovanni Wolfio | 1585. 4°.*

- e. *Julii Caesaris | Stellae | Nob. Rom. | Columbeidos, | Libri Priores | duo. | Flower-de-luce. | Londini | Apud Johannem Wolfium. | 1585. 4°. (Edited by Jacobus Castelvetrius.)*
- e*. The same book without the leaf containing the dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh and with the substitution of *Lugduni* for *Londini* | *Apud Johannem Wolfium.*
6. *Machiavelli, Libro dell' Arte della Guerra*, palm-tree, Palermo, s. a. 8°.
- 6*. The same book with the title : *I sette Libri dell' Arte della Guerra* and the substitution of 1587 for the palm-tree and *Palermo.*

Aa. Licensed :

7. *Essamine di | varii Giudicii | de i Politici : e della Dot- | trina e de i fatti de i Pro- | testanti veri, & de i Cattolici Romani. | Libri quattro. | Per Gio. Battista Aurellio. | Con la tauola, etc. | Flower-de-luce with 'Ubique floret' in elaborate setting | In Londra | Appresso Giovanni Wolfio. | 1587. 4°. (May 4, 1587.)*
8. *Macchiavelli, Historie*, Giglio's device, In Piacenza, 1587. 12°. (Sept. 18, 1587.)
9. *Descrittione | del Regno di Scotia, | et | delle Isole sue ad- | iacenti di Petruccio Vbaldini | Cittadin Fiorentino. | Nella quale, etc. Flower-de-luce as in No. 7. | Anversa. | Il Di primo di Gennaio. | M. D. LXXXVIII. Fol. (Nov. 27, 1587.)*
10. *The Courtier of Count Bald[ar]ssar[e] Casti[g]lio, deuided into foure Bookes. In three columns, English, French, Italian. Printed for the Cumpany, etc. 1588. 4°. (Dec. 4, 1587.)*
11. *Macchiavelli, L' Asino d' Oro*, part of Giglio's device, In Roma, 1588. 8°. (Sept. 17, 1588.)
12. *Pietro Aretino, Quattro Comedie*, head of Aretino, s. l., 1588. 8°. (Sept. 20, 1588.)
13. *Pietro Aretino, Ragionamenti III*, head of Aretino, s. l., 1589. 8°. (Preface from Valcerca.) (Oct. 14, 1588.)
14. *Lettera di | Francesco | Betti gentilhuomo | Romano. | All' — S. Mar- | chese di Pescara. | Nella qual da conto a S. Ecc. della cagione che | l' ha mosso a partirsi del suo serui- | gio, & vscir d' Italia. | Stampata la seconda volta, etc. | Flower-de-luce | Londra | Appresso Giovanni Wolfio. | 1589 | 8°. (Dec. 4, 1588.)*

15. *Le Vite del- | le Donne | Illustri. | Del Regno d'In- | ghilterra, & del Regno di Scotia & di | quelli, che d'altri paesi ne i due detti | Regni sono stato maritate. | Doue, etc. | Scritte in lingua Italiana da Petruccio Ubaldino | Cittadin Fiorentino. | Flower-de-luce | Londra | Appresso Giovanni Volfo. | 1591. | 4°. (July 23, 1590.)*

Bb. Not licensed :

16. *Il Pastor Fido | Tragicomedia | Pastorale | di Battista Guarini. | Al Sereniss. D. Carlo Emanuele | Duca di Savoia &c. Dedicata. | Nelle Reali Nozze di S. A. con la Sereniss. Infante | D. Caterina d'Austria. | Flower-de-luce | Londra | Giovanni Volfo, a spese di | Giacomo Castellettri. MDXCI. | 12°. On page 217 follows : *Aminta | Fauola | Boschereccia | del S. Torquato | Tasso | etc.**

(To be continued.)

A. GERBER.

Flensburg, Germany.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PLAYS.

I.

The Christmas Ordinary, a Private Show ; Wherein is expressed the Jovial Freedom of that Festival. As it was Acted at a Gentleman's House among other Revels. By W. R. Master of Arts. London. Printed for James Courtney, at the Golden Horse-shoo, on Saffron Hill, 1682.

The author, in his preface, has the following to say of his work :

"... 'Tis the First-Born of a young Academick Head, which since hath been Deliver'd of most excellent Productions. It hath lain Dormant almost half an Age, and hath only crawl'd out in Manuscript into some few hands ; who likeing the Entertainment they found in it, thought it too good a Morsel to be Devour'd by Moths, but suppos'd it a fitter Bit to feed some Bookseller, and therefore wisht it might rather be advanc'd to the Clutches of the one, than miserably be condemn'd to the grinders of the other.

"Here are as Ingenious Passages, and as Humorous Conceits, and as Lively Descriptions,

as any occurs in the most celebrated Dramatick. But if these Beautiful Charms will not in the least allure the Reader, then let the Deformity of the Shape invite and draw him ; for 'tis neither exact Comedy, Farce, or Tragedy, but a spatch'd Chimæra ; that hath somewhat of every one, and the Spirit, Flame, Elixir of them all. 'Tis a Monster in Learning, as great as any that occurs in Nature, and if men will not read it for its Ingenuity, yet I hope they will come see it, as a Prodigy, and so gratifie their Curiosity, if not please their Fancy.

Helmdon, Octob.

18. 1682.

W. R."

From the title and preface we get the following clues to the author and date of production : (1) His initials were W. R. ; (2) he was Master of Arts ; (3) he dated his preface from Helmdon in 1682 ; (4) the play was "the First-Born of a young Academick Head" ; and (5) it had been acted "almost half an Age" since. The author was doubtless William Richards, (1643-1705), son of Ralph Richards, rector at Helmdon, Northamptonshire. He entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1658, proceeded B. A. in 1663, and M. A. in 1666 ; was appointed fellow, took holy orders, and preached at Marston, Oxfordshire. He settled at Helmdon as rector in 1675, and was living there in 1682.¹ The "most excellent Productions" referred to in the preface were : *The English Orator, or Rhetorical Descant by Way of Declamation upon some notable themes, both Historical and Philosophical, 1680* ; and *Wallography, or the Britton Described, 1682*. The latter was published under his initials only, with a preface signed "W. R., Helmdon, Oct. 24, 1681."

That the play was produced at Oxford is proved by the following pleasantry :²

I have been lately reputed a most renowned Cheater, and indeed I borrow'd that Art of a certain City-Major, who was properly married to his Trade ; for his Wives Petty-coat was his best Warehouse ; whence he grew to be the Frontispeice of the Town ; for the Ford he maintain'd in his Cellar, and the Ox in his Head.

On the books of the Stationers' Company, June 29, 1660, was entered *The Christmas Ordinary*, comedy, by Trinity College, Oxford. The piece

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

² Page 2.